

**POPULATION:** CANADA'S TAB HOMER-DIXON  
SPARKS A GLOBAL DEBATE

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER 5, 1994 \$3.50

# Maclean's

## PEGGY MEETS THE BOYS CLUB

**THE BATTLE TO  
OWN LAC'S GOLD**



**THE OUTSIDER:**

PEGGY WITTE  
Royal Oak Mines



**THE INSIDER:**

PETER MUNK  
American Barrick





# If The PQ Wins

The premiers of Canada had gathered for a meeting in Toronto in an atmosphere of national crisis. "Up to ten months ago," one declared, "I never believed a secession Quebec would become a reality." The speaker was New Brunswick's then-First Minister Louis Robichaud, and the occasion was the opening of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference, hosted by Quebec's Jean Robarts in November, 1987. Robarts had called the meeting against a backdrop of a secessionist climate. Charles de Gaulle of France had just issued a statement in Quebec earlier that year with his infamous "Vive le Québec libre!" As the premiers talked in Toronto, a militant picketing in Montreal known as the *Falaises* occurred in Quebec as French Canada's "national territory." One conference participant declared, "We aren't very far from becoming a country." His name: René Lévesque.

In Toronto, Quebec's Union Nationale Premier, Daniel Johnson, responded in the following words by accepting a plea for a dramatic overhaul of Confederation. While reaffirming his commitment to Canada, he called for the recognition of "two nations" and "complete national sovereignty" for provinces, including in matters of health, education and justice. In the end, there was a compromise and the process will be subject to subsequent constitutional changes. Canada stayed together.

Then, on October 1st, the play ball was to a similar meeting of Canada's premiers, including Johnson's son, Daniel Jr., the Quebec Liberal leader who is in the midst of a provincial election. Robichaud's assessment may be even more apt. While the campaign

debate afforded Johnson an excellent opportunity to score points, Quebecers seemed poised to elect a government that will begin working immediately for separation. It will do so, according to a *Parti Québécois* document, by establishing a "timetable" and the rules "for dividing Canada's assets." Thus, there will be a referendum. That process amounts to a de facto declaration of independence, whatever the party has been saying on the issue in the election, which is as little as possible.

While the latest public opinion polls before the debate suggested that the Liberals continued to close the gap, the PQ was still on track to win about 80 seats, with Liberal Johnson holding on to about 45. Then the polls also suggest, Quebecers would vote against separation—thereby achieving the mythical state that evangelists Yves Duhaime famously describes as "an independent Quebec in a strong Canada." In that event, Canada should be prepared for, well, more of the same. Quebecers have been convinced that their aspirations were left unfulfilled by the rejection of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords. After a PQ victory, they will want something to happen. And the premiers don't want to get together with the Prime Minister to see what they can do. As the premiers discussed in 1987, governments can make progress if they do not get hung up on preserving the status quo. All regions of the country—not just Quebec—must change. Lastly, people everywhere here had to begin to change in their own lives. So will Canada. That is what history tells us.

*Robert Louis*



Johnson Jr., wife Susan in demonstration, change

## Maclean's

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# LETTERS

## 'Only in Canada'

**A**s an Fatherhood writer: "It is the needs of Canadian sport, maybe Lord Gorbunov—Canada's holy grail of hockey?" ("Down in the Canoeing way," *Column*, Aug. 22). Well, Monsieur Fotheringham, didn't you get carried away somewhat? It seems to me Canada has, for the time being, at least two sports moccas. I happen to live near the Montreal Forum where an unwatched 24 Stanley Cup presents heat from the million Soviet players used to order to the old Forum as the temple of hockey. Only in Canada did you say?

Jean-Cyril Lemire,  
Montreal

On Aug. 14 at Hamilton's Cuyler Coliseum, Canada played China to determine the seventh place finish for the world basketball championships. At the turnstile, I was shocked to discover that my Canadian flag was not allowed into the building as a flagpole person waving foreign flags had insisted to the violent use of their flagpoles causing serious injury. Canadian flags and their bearers at no time were involved in such altercations. Ah, for the memory of Canada Cup hockey. Or, as Doc Cherry might say: Aren't this a great country.

Douglas L. Martin,  
Montreal

## Wrong message?

**A**s an inner-city teacher—who works with homeless youth—and as a Canadian, I was appalled by the cover of your recent "Kids who kill" issue (Aug. 13). The headline, making photographs of the male youth in profile, looking a painful smile, an appealing, no-nonsense message. There is clearly a startling discrepancy between this idealized depiction and your previous articles about youths who committed ghastly crimes against innocent people. Your irresponsible cover is symptomatic of a sick North American society that continues to glorify and promote the Americanization of violence.

Anna MacDonnell,  
Whitby

Why is it that so much attention is given to criminals? Who cares how old they are? They have committed a heinous crime and they should be punished. It makes no sense to know that the offenders get all sorts of



1983 Montreal Canadiens Stanley Cup champions; at least two sports moccas

special treatment and that after a short period of time will be back on the streets. If age is the only reason that their names do not get developed, that they get short sentences and that their criminal record gets wiped out, I think it's a poor excuse. If someone feels old enough to commit an adult crime, that person should be tried in adult court and sentenced accordingly.

Judith Pappas,  
Guelph, Ont.

## Front-seat driver

I was most disappointed in your article "Born to be mad" (*Blackpink*, Aug. 22), which failed to mention the growing number of women riding Harley Davidson motorcycles. I bought my first one at 35, then traded my Sportster for a custom Softail. I enjoyed my new hobby so much, I surprised my husband with a Heritage Softail for his birthday. We have enjoyed many riding hours together. But this is one woman who would never be seen on the back!

Joanne Wright,  
Victoria

I wonder why you write an article about a bunch of puppets that ride Harleys when the weather is nice or the road bits there? Rather than write about the people who ride for the love of riding and give their money to a good cause, your article concentrated on some guys who spent a weekend in Florida. Well, that, at the Ride for Safe—who don't know anything about contraband or crime. It was the people who don't make a lifestyle income, own Koles watches or Gucci shoes that kept Harley Davidson from failing. To group these guys you call Bitch girls urban

blues) is with the rest of us you call weak and blurs is a trend.

Mike Gogh,  
Peterborough, Ont.

## Basic rights

I am shocked that female citizenship is a trend endorsed by select cultures and rampant among African/Somali society ("Finding new grounds for refuge," *Canada*, Aug. 26). This type of persecution should remind Canadians of the freedom and basic rights that we enjoy in North America. Shadia Hussen Haddad, the victim described in the article, will be emotionally scarred for the rest of her life. My utmost respect goes out to all those women who, like Haddad, have suffered, yet prevailed, in their fight for freedom. But my heart goes out to those who are lost in the darkness of despair.

Nazama Nicole Ali,  
Peterburg, Ont.

## Eastern errors

In the article "A trouble scene keeps on rolling" (*Blackpink*, Aug. 22), you show a picture of an air traffic control tower at Toronto's Pearson International Airport. A closer examination of the photo would soon reveal the word "Montreal" under the tower. We westerners are used to you making errors about us, but somehow I thought you easterners knew the difference between the Toronto and Montreal airports.

John Duber,  
Calgary

Montreal's nickname "The Big City" has been used by others for years and years. Please write more about our beautiful big-city people. With letters to the Editor, Macdonald's magazine 277 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7. Or call (416) 220-7770.

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# OPENING NOTES

## A BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER, WHY?

**P**reparations to pave roads and build bridges have long been a part of Canadian election campaigns. But a bridge struggle through one of Quebec's most famous beauty spots, Gabriel Fournier's, the Parti Quebecois candidate in the riding of Saguenay, has promised that a PQ government would look into the feasibility of a \$700-million span across the Saguenay River just above where it spills into the St. Lawrence—and would expect the federal government to pick up most of the cost. The purpose of the bridge, he adds, would be to improve the depressed economy of Quebec's North Shore region by eliminating a traffic bottleneck caused by the existing ferry service. Many area people have indeed the proposal, says Fournier, because it is opening the thousands of tourists who visit the region every year to admire the unspoiled scenery, often by ferry. Still, Quebec notes that Ottawa is spending almost \$2 billion to link the 350,000 Prince Edward Islanders in New Brunswick, and "Prince Edward Island has roughly the same population as we have [on the North Shore]." Perhaps, but for Ottawa, the Saguenay could prove to be a bridge too far.



Quebec's North Shore region is a beautiful sight, but a bridge across the Saguenay River would be a bridge too far.

## MR. LANDSLIDE

**I**t is a long way from the flat prairie of Alberta to the precipitous slopes of Hong Kong. But a University of Alberta engineering professor's unparalleled understanding of "hollow dynamics" has made him services essential when tragedy strikes in the island colony. In Hong Kong, Norbert Margenstern, 56, of Edmonton, is known as "Mr. Landslide." The government there promptly called on him to investigate after a slide on July 22 destroyed a residential area on one of the steep hills overlooking the city, killing three people. "Mr. Landslide is the world's leading expert



on these things," and Philip Chen, a spokesman for the government's geotechnical engineering office. "We had to bring him in." Margenstern has investigated numerous cases around the world, including previous hill slides in Hong Kong. He told reporters there last week that with many parts of the city built on precipitous inclines, it is expert more than "hazardous." "Because of the density of population and the high price of real estate," he said, there is pressure to build even in risky areas. And that may keep Mr. Landslide returning to Hong Kong.

Margenstern is the Landslide czar.

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

1. *A Sea of Cortez*, John Irving (2)
2. *Field of Honor*, Tim O'Leary
3. *The Christmas Playhouse*, Joyce Kilmer (1)
4. *The Bridge of Madison County*, Robert Bly (1)
5. *Summer Storm's Deep Mind*, W.P. Saurin (1)
6. *Seaside Nights*, Shirley White
7. *Miss City Jane*, James Lee White (1)
8. *Playing for the Ashes*, Franklin Griggs (1)
9. *The Hippopotamus*, Stephen Fry (1)
10. *The Christmas Job*, Gordon (1)

1 = Paperback only

### NONFICTION

1. *In the Kitchen with Paula*, Rosemary (1)
2. *Kids Are Worth It*, Barbara Cooney (1)
3. *Quarantined by the Light*, Peter Galt (1)
4. *Quarantined by the Light*, Peter Galt (1)
5. *Quarantined by the Light*, Peter Galt (1)
6. *The Perfectionist's Moving*, Steven Bialik (1)
7. *The Way We Are*, Margaret (1)
8. *A Journey Through Economic Times*, Jim Green (1)
9. *The Year of the Horse*, Elizabeth (1)
10. *Midnight Disasters*, David (1)

Compiled by Brian Bellows

## POP MOVIES

- Top grossers in Canada, weekend openings to date-official weekend (all figures in millions of dollars)
- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1. <i>Forrest Gump</i> (15/16)             | \$1,235,000 |
| 2. <i>Clear and Present Danger</i> (15/16) | \$1,148,000 |
| 3. <i>The Hunt</i> (15/16)                 | \$1,135,000 |
| 4. <i>True Lies</i> (12/13)                | \$611,000   |
| 5. <i>Golden Eye</i> (17/17)               | \$511,000   |
| 6. <i>The Lion King</i> (15/16)            | \$505,000   |
| 7. <i>In the Army Now</i> (15/16)          | \$514,000   |
| 8. <i>Andre</i> (15/17)                    | \$345,000   |
| 9. <i>The Little Mermaid</i> (15/16)       | \$324,000   |
| 10. <i>The Godfather</i> (15/17)           | \$321,000   |

Source: National Exhibitors Association



Nash: Chess is really a social game.

## TALKING BACK

**V**eteran CBC journalist Kenneth Nash says he is worried that people used to start making his new book at the end of the world. The last two chapters of *The Microphone Wars: A History of Triumph and Betrayal* at the CBC to be published in October document the recent upheavals at the public broadcaster, with enough behind-the-scenes material to satisfy any media junkie. Among the upsets, first published by a Toronto newspaper last week, is his description of the 1989-1990 tenure of president Gerald Villanov, a former civil servant whom Nash depicts as a brilliant man temperamentally suited to the job. Nash says that Villanov had had another senior executive "I'd like to kick your f---ing balls" (he later apologized). The book also documents the former Tory government's efforts to control the corporation, but Nash told *Maclean's* that government interference "isn't nearly new" to the CBC. "Three-page controversy has always surrounded the CBC," he said, revealing how radio programs misled the government's back in the 1930s. That part is in the earlier chapters.



## CHECKERS TECH

**I**n one corner, Marion Tinsley, the master strategist of the game. Opposing him, the book, a program developed by computer scientists at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. The stakes: checkers supremacy. The two had met before, in 1980, 1981 and 1982, but Tinsley, a Pennsylvania man, had three wins. This year, however, Chinnok's processing capability was 10 times faster than in 1980, allowing it to analyze 12 million checkers moves every minute. In the first week of play at the Computer Museum in Boston, man and machine played six games to a draw. But then the human element descended: checkers history. On Aug. 24, Tinsley, 62, became ill and withdrew from the tournament—making a computer program the world's first checkers champion, championed by itself. Last week, Chinnok, who's already defeated its title against Tinsley's replacement and the world's No. 2, Don Lafferty of Kentucky. But as that program developer Jonathan Schaeffer confesses, the watershed of Tinsley-Chinnok's not a checkers match, the victory. "Nobody's happy here," he said. Maybe, but did anyone check with Chinnok?

## BULLETIN: A CRIME DECLINE

**V**iolent crime is a staple of the tabloid press and TV newscasts. Shocked Canadians reacted by demanding tougher laws. But in the country caught in a crime wave? Apparently not. If a report from Statistics Canada last week is the final word, it found that the national crime rate dropped by five per cent in 1993, the largest decrease since Ottawa began collecting crime statistics in 1962. According to the report, the number of burglaries last year dropped 12 per cent to 620 million from 702, while the rate of all violent crime fell by one per cent. In Toronto, the murder rate alone plummeted by 20 per cent. "Really is a different story," insisted Toronto Chief William McCracken, who said that his force's statistics show no crime increase or decrease. But other experts added with Statistics Canada: "We're simply not in the middle of a major crime wave," and Neil Boyd, director of the school of criminology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. He added that public perception is so likely to change the more people are sensationalized crime stories, the more they will believe and if everywhere. Even if the crime rate is dropping.

At ease in Toronto are the statistics available?

Edited by JOE CHILLEY

## PASSAGES

### NEGOTIATING

The aftermath of a plea to criminal events streaming from a U.S. federal bank from investigations, sports commentators and rare coin dealer Bruce McNall. At who is expected to enter a formal plea in late September. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, McNall has agreed to plead guilty to one count of bank fraud, two counts of mail fraud and one count of conspiracy—and will likely face imprisonment when he is sentenced next year. McNall was sole owner of the L.A. Kings from 1968 until 1990, when financial difficulties forced him to sell 72 per cent of his shares. In the meantime, he has been in partnership with the Toronto Argonauts of the Canadian Football League—Kings star Wayne Gretzky and the estate of comedian John Candy, who died in March—sold the team to the Sports Network.

**BANNED:** For 15 months from playing soccer nationally or internationally for taking a banned substance during the World Cup tournament in June, Argentine star Diego Maradona faces disciplinary panel of FIFA, soccer's governing body. In 1991, Maradona was caught with a substance in his system for 15 months after a drug test indicated he had taken cocaine.

**SENTENCES:** Maradona's sister, Toldi Lawrence, 26, of Atlanta to 12 months in jail for conspiring a loan against the singer's Los Angeles manager, Michael Jackson. A court order barring him from making contact with her or visiting her home or allowing for three years.

**REASONED:** Jeffrey Katzenberg, chairman of Walt Disney Studios after 15 years that saw the creation of such usually hit animated movies as *The Little Mermaid*, *Beauty and the Beast*, *Aladdin* and *The Lion King*.

**SUNDS:** French composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, by American actor Faye Dunaway, writing his million in damages because he shut down the Los Angeles production of *Sunset Boulevard* in June, claiming she could not meet the "unrealistic demands" of the role she was to have taken over from Glenn Close.

**ON SABBATICAL:** Pittsburgh Penguins star Mario Lemelin, 26, for a year, according to reports he himself was expected to confirm this week. Lemelin has a lingering neck blood condition triggered by radiation treatment he received for Hodgkin's disease.

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## COLUMN



# The new enforcers for the disabled

BY BARBARA AMIEL

For the past week, I have been reading material associated with Ontario's new Advocacy Act, which takes full effect in 1995. An act that would be incredible, as reality it evokes incredulity. In theory, the Advocacy Act is there to provide help for physically and mentally handicapped people over the age of 16 who have been "integrated" in some way. The act creates an Advocacy Commission that selects, trains and administers a vast network of "advocates." Under the act, sole criteria for appointment to the commission is that the majority of the 14 commissioners should "have or have had a physical or mental disability or an illness or infirmity likely to result in a physical or mental disability, or are 65 years of age or older."

The commissioners named so far are described in published biographies emphasizing their qualifications. They include: (1) an advocate, Premier Bob Rae's special advisor David Bessile who was once "involuntarily committed" to Kingston Psychiatric Hospital; (2) an artist, activist, Oly's artistic feminist; (3) a woman described as "a lifelong advocate for marginalized Ontarians," whose professional life has been divided among Revenue Canada, taxation and the fields of employment equity and special interest group politics; (4) a disabled activist; (5) a native, social activist and professional multi-culturalist; (6) a senior citizen and gerontologist; (7) an injured paraplegic Ontario legislator; (8) a woman who is described as "an acknowledged leader of the psychiatric consumer movement."

If someone can does not describe people who have been to a psychiatrist as "vulnerable" any more. That is patently obvious. Anyone who has been treated or involved with the psychiatric profession is now called a "survivor" of the psychiatric system.

The act defines the vulnerable as "a person who, because of a medical or severe mental or physical disability, illness or infirmity,

whether temporary or permanent and whether actual or potential, is unable to express or act on his or her wishes or to intervene or exercise his or her rights or has difficulties in expressing or acting on his or her wishes."

What is wrong with all this? It begins with calling this act and its practices "advocacy" is a misnomer. The legislation calls for the creation of a group of people to be known as advocates who will act on behalf of so-called vulnerable people. They will be empowered, subject to certain conditions, to enter boarding houses, hospitals and nursing homes without a warrant. Such people are properly called enforcers, not advocates. By definition, the commission is made up of consumer people who, to use their own language, are or perceive themselves to be marginalized persons. The government is setting up a group of enforcers or consumers who have, intrinsically, it is in their shoulder and will act as a backing class of the state to interfere, under the guise of protecting vulnerable people, with any personal and professional structures within society that so far have managed to enjoy some modicum of autonomy. A further section of the act excepts these advocates from any personal liability

for their actions. You cannot sue them for the harm they do, provided they think they were doing good.

The language of the act makes it clear that if you perceive yourself to be vulnerable—well, you are. There is no objective test. Now the NDP's consumers can tell psychiatrists how to treat their patients according to ideologically correct principles or, even worse, unite the Human Rights Commission to inject itself into yet another situation. If a person feels marginalized, and often as evidence that they are not loved enough or are treated in a family or company situation, the advocate can start investigative proceedings.

In every area of life one can find examples of individuals not being treated in accordance with their wishes. Actually, the greatest offender is the government itself. Many parents, for example, see their children being given courses in school that are alienative to their religious values or common sense. But the chances of any parent successfully asking the Advocacy Commission to act on a complaint about the agenda of the progressive school's curriculum are nil—even a "vulnerable" disabled parent making such a complaint would be marginalized out of existence. Of course there are instances of truly odious mistreatment of the handicapped, clearly or mentally ill, and one hopes to be able to confront such things.

That is why we have complaint procedures, royal commissions, civil lawsuits, professional misconduct charges and so forth. Nothing will totally eliminate abuses, but surely by now experience has taught us that trying to correct the situation by creating armies of commissioners is even worse.

Commissioners are the bane of humanity. If they could be identified at birth and destroyed it would be a great help, but even this task could not be done without the aid of their own kind. Superficially, commissioners are often undeniably able to generate helpful and caring people.

Indeed, they may be human beings in whom a genuine caring instinct has under gone a madhouse change of growth. There is nothing you can do about the commissioner. Just let it pass, the case studies say. They will exist in every society together with the aggressive, jealous, creative, criminal and hundreds of other human types.

It is possible that the state will for the time being shy away from all the interferences that this act permits. They may not act, for example, against their "voluntary" 16-year-old girl whose parents wish to stop her from dating a person of another religion or race.

But there is no question that the act gives them the power to harass the girl that she does not have to let her parents. That is what the Advocacy Act is really about: a further tool to eliminate any independence or autonomy that remains in both the family and the professions. And why has there been no great outcry? Because the Advocacy Act is designed by and for every special-interest group. Only the general public will suffer.





# The spy who did too much

In the grey, tangled ethics of espionage and paid informants, there has always been only a thin and tenuous line between being a spy and being in a spy. A recent example in Russia in 1998, Tatyana Seredova, one of the members of the Bolshevik Organization in St. Petersburg, worried that his group had been infiltrated by a government informant. More than a decade later, after the Bolsheviks had overthrown the Russian government and seized its files, Seredova learned he was both right and wrong: all of the other four members of the group had been *Canadian* informants.

Perhaps that precedent will provide advice to the anonymous, unknown member of employees of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), which last week searched through one of the sensitive works in its already checked 11-year history. But for now, CSIS needs all the help it can get in dividing the activities of Great Britain, a mysterious Toronto-based informant allegedly paid by CSIS to spy on the country's largest neo-Nazi group, the Toronto-based Heritage Front—and who, according to various recent media reports, proceeded to try to gather intelligence on everything from the Reform Party of Canada to its ties out of the country's national Jewish organizations. In defending itself, CSIS at no time had to get much help from unlicensed members of the Liberal government, who last week promised to hold a parliamentary inquiry into the matter. It is even less likely to win sympathy from opposition MPs, after revelations that Britain extended his activities by working briefly on Reform party leader Preston Manning's security team last year. That alleged effort to spy on what is now one of the country's three biggest political parties, said Manning, "cannot be tolerated." And CSIS should probably not rely heavily on paid spies from the country's major Jewish outlets, after allegations that Britain passed on to the spy agency information about CBC investigations into the Heritage Front—not to mention CSIS's own threats to have The Toronto Star and The Toronto Star both charged under the Official Secrets Act after the newspaper

published parts of confidential documents. Still, CSIS may not need media friends if it can benefit, as it did last week, from the inability of those who are engaging it in spying. Although it is long-standing government practice to print coded numbers on confidential documents in order to identify their users, the Star proudly published a front-page photograph of their leaked copy of the document.

times that were so severe that some of those tried and required police protection.

One irony of the controversy is that, for once, CSIS appears to have targeted a group—the Heritage Front—which most Canadians could agree warrants surveillance. That was not always the case in the past, for security organizations and its predecessors, the RCMP security service, were criticized for their efforts against Quebec separatists in the 1970s and, more recently, some ethnic groups. But Britain's alleged actions have alienated some potential supporters. Brian Birch, Canada's executive vice-president Frank Demer, for example, said he was "outraged" by allegations that Britain gave information on Canadian Jewish groups to a visit to Aaron, an anti-Nazi group.

As well, Britain's actions could hurt, rather than help, attempts to connect some of the people he spent an hour down. The lawyer for Heritage Front leader Wolfgang Droege, told Maclean's last week that he will likely ask for dismissal of a series of criminal charges against Droege because Britain was present when legal defense strategy was privately discussed.

All of that inevitably evokes memories of the last time that Canada's spies received as welcome attention. In 1979, Robert Sarant, a reformed RCMP officer, went on trial in Montreal on a series of charges related to an aborted bombing attempt, on which he was later convicted and sentenced to seven years. Although Sarant has courtroom triumphs, Sarant, accompanied by aggressive questioning from the prosecution, insisted that he had done "much worse" in the past on behalf of the RCMP. His subsequent revelations led to provincial and federal commissions that uncovered further evidence of RCMP wrongdoing—and ultimately the decision to create CSIS as an independent intelligence-gathering body separate from the RCMP. Now, Canada's spy masters can expect to be asked whether they have learned from history, or allowed it to be repeated.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH is a columnist. BARRY CARACATTA is a writer.

## An alleged neo-Nazi informant sparks a parliamentary inquiry



▼ *Witness, Alonzo (right), was a man bankrolled by CSIS keeping tabs on Jewish outlets, the Reform party and Jewish organizations.*

with the matter clearly displayed. As a result, the RCMP arrested and questioned Brian Maclean, a former aide to Doug Lewis, solicitor general in the Progressive Conservative government.

As for the man who triggered so much mischief, Britain was in hiding last week, and details of his background are few and conflicting. CSIS, true to character, was not saying anything about almost any aspect of the case. But revelations from people who worked with and against Britain over the past five years make it clear that he demonstrated little difficulty in blending in with neo-Nazis. An informed private investigator with a passion for electronic privacy, he was one of three principal organizers in 2000 of the Heritage Front. Other members of the group insisted that Britain paid most of the startup expenses for the group, including hotel and telephone bills and car rental costs. They also say that he organized his mezzanine campaign against anti-Nazi ac-

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# A monster in their midst

He is arguably New Brunswick's most infamous criminal. An overweight man with a porcine-quality haircut, he appeared almost gruffly last week as he sat wearing baggy jeans and a plaid shirt in the witness box in the Borden M.B. courtroom. To the teenage boys he best, raped and molested while in his care at the Kingscler New Brunswick Training Centre between 1966 and 1985, Karl Toft is the very epitome of evil. But last week, the former youth counsellor, who is serving 15 years in jail after being convicted on 34 unrelated charges, actually portrayed himself as a victim—at his own warped sexual crimes, of lying teenage boys and of disbarred lawyers. His final words before a judicial inquiry into sex abuse at Kingscler were an emotional plea for absolution. "I would like to apologize to those young men whom I have molested and pray that somehow they can find it in their hearts to forgive me," said a tearful Toft, who claims to be a born-again Christian. But after switching the outdoors, Norm Foster, lawyer for several of the victims, said he could only think of his client's willing "personally," he declared.

"I find only their tears were credible."

Reporters outnumbered lawyers in the heavily secured Borden courtroom, located 20 km east of Fredericton, which had been redesigned to handle the 1995 trial of multiple murderers Alan Legros. Federal guards surrounded the 56-year-old Toft as he entered the courtroom wearing handcuffs and leg shackles. Inside, a metal detector screamed warnings. Toft's appearance marked the widely anticipated climax of a nine-month-long inquiry that has featured testimony suggesting that provincial officials routinely ignored complaints about Toft's sexual assaults—and hearing of a conspiracy that shielded the pedophile from criminal prosecution for more than 20 years. Toft's own hours of testimony also offered a chilling glimpse into the mind of a sexual predator. "People are so willing to consider me a monster of some kind," he observed at one point, as if startled at the thought.

In fact, much of Toft's testimony seemed

designed to elicit sympathy—perhaps, as the victims' lawyers contended, with an eye to securing earlier parole. Toft claimed that, as a five- or six-year-old, he was sexually assaulted by a cousin. He also recalled how he was locked out of the welfare in the early 1960s after admitting that he had fallen in love with a 12-year-old boy from a Scout troop that he led. But Toft maintained that he had his upper hand under control when he began working at Kingscler in 1966. His troubles, he testified, began in the spring of 1967, when one of the boys crawled into his sleeping bag while on a camping trip—and then, by his account, initiated sex.

In this instance, as in most others, Toft claimed he really did nothing wrong. While admitting to molesting up to 35 boys (most of whom have never lodged public complaints), he maintained he never "preyed" on his victims and that the sex was usually by mutual agreement—in an adolescent moment when, contrasted with the horrific tales the inquiry



Toft serving at the inquiry, a pedophile who cheated justice for over 20 years

had heard from dozens of Kingscler residents. He admitted showing only six of the 49 former residents who have told the inquiry that he forced them to have sex. The rest he said "grew up with him on their lips" and are still trying to try to get financial compensation. Throughout much of his testimony, Toft spoke calmly and politely. But his composure faded when the subject turned to former New Brunswick premier Richard Hatfield, who died of cancer in 1995 and who has been

repeatedly linked to the scandal. Toft denied ever seeing the then-governor politician—let alone, as one former Kingscler resident testified, introducing the youth to Hatfield while Toft and the then-premier were travelling in northern New Brunswick in a lime-green Lincoln sports car. (The youth testified that Hatfield offered him money for sex.) But the inquiry counsel revealed that July days before his appearance Toft lashed at the director when he denied knowing Hatfield. "I am

not lying," Toft snapped. "I don't care what the mother says."

All the same, Toft's testimony did supply some new hints in a story that inquiry chairman Richard Miller has blessed to a "sordid sex story." The inquiry had already heard evidence indicating that, following written complaints against Toft by three of his victims, Fredericton police and provincial officials agreed not to lay charges against him, but instead to transfer him to an adjacent adult institution. Last week, though, Toft testified that his superiors had protected him on at least one other occasion. In 1991, members of the provincial solicitor general's department transferred him to Consumer Vehicle Enforcement Branch out of fear that former Kingscler counsellor David Forbes, also had caught Toft molesting one of the students in 1985, might go public with his knowledge. "They said Forbes would be trouble," Toft testified.

In fact, it was due to Forbes's unbroken persistence that Toft was arrested on Sept. 9, 1981, and charged with 37 counts of sexually abusing boys. Charges against a non-resident men and prison guard working at Kingscler followed. Last week, his account in the spotlight over Toft mirrored in his Borden, N.B., prison cell, living behind doors of raised floors—and now questions about how the province's justice system chose to deal with a predator in their midst.

JOHN DE MONTY with ERENDA NGUYEN in Borden

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# Canada NOTES

## YOUNG AND ARMED

A study released by Solicitor General Herb Gray said that an increasing number of Canadian schoolchildren are arming themselves with weapons. The study, based on Statistics Canada information and a survey of 570 police forces and 125 school boards, says that knives are the weapons of choice—including everything from hunting and pocket knives to machetes, meat cleavers and switchblades. The report said the weapons are stored as a status symbol for protection, or to intimidate other students. The most frequent users of weapons, youth in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Quebec, Ont.

## TURMOIL OVER TUNA

Nova Scotia Supreme Court Justice Donald Hall granted an injunction that ended a four-day blockade by Nova Scotia tuna fishermen at a government wharf in Stellarton, on Nova Scotia's southwestern shore. The injunction had been sought by the owners of about 70 tuna boats from Quebec, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and northern Nova Scotia whose efforts to fish for lucrative bluefin tuna had outraged local fishermen. Hall said the tuna dispute should be settled using the law of the land, "not the law of the jungle."

## AN ARCTIC MILESTONE

The Canadian icebreaker Louis St. Laurent and its American counterpart, the Polar Sea, became the first surface vessels from either country to reach the North Pole. Crew and scientists from both ships are conducting research into Arctic pollution and how the world's temperatures are affected as polar ice freezes and melts.

## JUDICIAL RESISTANCE

Justice Andre Boudreau of the Quebec Court of Appeal told members of the Canadian Bar Association in Toronto that the focus of political controversies must be resolved. Boudreau said he was particularly concerned by proposals for mandatory oaths sworn at sentencing judges about issues such as sexual assault. Such oaths, he said, "would be trying to influence our minds and our spirits and interfere directly with the judicative function."

## THE FAT FACTS

The results of the Canadian Heart Health Survey indicate that rural Canadians are more likely to be overweight than their urban counterparts and that obesity is more common in Atlantic Canada than in other regions. The study also found that more men than women are obese.



**FIRE ON THE WATERFRONT:** Thousands of firefighters were ordered off Vancouver's Pacific National Exhibition grounds when smoldering fires broke out at a nearby grain terminal dock out visibility and made breathing difficult. Smoke from the fire also threatened the six-lane Second Narrows bridge—one of two spans between the city and the suburban north shore. It took about 100 firefighters nearly 24 hours to quell the blaze.

## The line on law and order

Despite a Statistics Canada report last week that least that violent crime is on the decline, two federal cabinet ministers used the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Police Chiefs to pitch a strong law-and-order line. First up was Immigration Minister Simeon Marchais, who told the 360 chiefs assembled in Montreal that proposed amendments to the Immigration Act would ensure that criminals who are not Canadian citizens will "get a one-way economy-class ticket out of Canada." Marchais predicted that the amendments—which include making anyone with two summary convictions ineligible to become a landed immigrant and permitting convicted criminals from changing religious status to delay their expulsion—would reduce violent crime by 10 per cent.

The following day, Justice Minister Allan Rock made the case for stricter gun control legislation. Rock questioned why Canadians are legally required to register their house mortgages, cars and pets, yet an estimated six million rifles and shotguns remain unregistered. He added that the federal government is considering amendments that would require seller penalties for criminals who use guns in crimes and more aggressive efforts to fight gun smuggling. Following Rock's remarks, the chiefs passed resolutions calling for a ban on military assault weapons, tighter controls on the sale of ammunition and tougher treatment for immigrants who commit crimes.

# Looking for trouble

SPECIAL REPORT

## Tad Homer-Dixon's prophecies for a crowded planet have created a stir in Washington

BY ROSS LAGER

**S**oft-spoken, methodical and unfailingly courteous, Thomas Homer-Dixon is not the kind of person who flies off the handle at a perceived insult. But there is a noticeable edge to his voice as he discusses an article in the British magazine *The Economist* branding him an "extreme eco-pessimist" because of his belief that runaway population growth and disappearing resources will trigger wars and widespread civil strife early in the 21st century. To the University of Toronto political scientist, the implication is all too clear: *The Economist* might just as well have called him Canada's answer to Chicken Little. "I can only assume," he says, "that the writer of that piece has never even bothered to read one of my papers."

Like it or not, Homer-Dixon is getting used to the sometimes harsh glare of public attention. At 39, the happily landlocked native of Vancouver Island has suddenly emerged as one of Canada's most talked-about and controversial scholars. Last February, his ascendancy to the ranks of academic superstardom was heralded by a widely discussed 12,500-word cover story in *The Atlantic Monthly*, "The Coming Anarchy." The author, journalist Robert Kaplan, drew heavily on Homer-Dixon's work to argue that the primary threats to Western security in the coming decades will be surging populations, environmental degradation, mass migration and civil wars in the Third World. Since then, the lively young professor—Tad, to his friends and associates—has been besieged by calls from journalists



Environmental scientist Thomas Homer-Dixon at the University of Toronto talks about predictions of growing Third World chaos

and conference organizers throughout North America, as well as from publishers eager to sign him up as an author. More significant, his best ideas accepted institutions to lead U.S. Vice President Al Gore, a long-standing champion of ecological causes who is one of Homer-Dixon's biggest fans.

Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the Clinton administration has endorsed Homer-Dixon's work as the final word on the subject for a new post-Cold War foreign policy—one that for the first time recognizes the environmental and population growth as key international issues. "Tad is one of a fairly small circle of people who is trying to understand and respond to a whole set of global trends, rather than simply focusing on problems in particular countries or regions," says David Harwood, whose boss, Tim Wirth, is Clinton's undersecretary of state for global affairs. Adds Harwood: "The most impressive thing is that, no matter what you believe about Tad's work, he is giving some intellectual content to a crucial debate. We think his research is immensely valuable and important."

That research is bound to attract even more attention when the University of Toronto professor speaks at the unprecedented International Conference on Population and Development, to be held in Cairo from Sept. 5 to 12. In a speech strictly titled "Population and Conflict," he will

argue that high birthrates, scarce resources and shortages of technical expertise threaten to plunge large areas of the globe into a "doomed and self-reinforcing spiral of crisis and decay." While acknowledging that technology and human ingenuity can help to alleviate those crises, Homer-Dixon says that many Third World countries face an "identity gap" caused by a lack of trained scientists, shortages of research funds, social conflict and political mismanagement. All of those factors, he says, impede the ability of poor nations to take advantage of new technology. "A country with a serious gap will see higher social dissolution and increased stress on marginal social groups," he says in the speech he prepared for Cairo. "If this process





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government and wanted to be where the action was." It was there that he took a course on the causes of war and developed an abiding interest in the subject. "Growing up in a very tranquil, peaceful environment, I guess I found it bizarre when people started shooting at each other. That course really started me thinking."

At Carleton, the young political science major also became involved in the Papezian movement, an organization of scholars concerned about the arms race and the impact of science on society. After attending one of the group's meetings, he founded an activist group, Canadian Student Papezian, and spent the next three years as its national coordinator—in the process acquiring skills that would later prove invaluable. "Papezian taught me a lot about practical organization—raising money, tracking donors and getting things done," Houser-Deno recalls. "I learned how to do things in an entrepreneurial way."

Papezian, in fact, was the first step in what became a kind of decade-long war-study program. In the fall of 1982, determined to experience the developing world firsthand, he embarked with a friend on an eight-month trip through Africa and Asia. "It was like a waking intervention course—we deliberately chose countries that were as different as possible from what we had known before." By the time he returned to Canada, he had been accepted as a graduate student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), a place Houser-Deno knows to "imagine boot camp—they strip you down and then gradually rebuild you."

Six years later, having completed his doctorate and anxious to return to Canada, he heard through the grapevine that the University of Toronto had a small Peace and Conflict Studies program that was essentially dormant, with no one in charge. Armed with a \$25,000 grant from Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, he cut a deal with the university as exchange for an office and a place he offered to run the program for free.

Success was just hanging in the air. Drawing on the battle-testing abilities he acquired while running the Papezian organization, he soon raised \$200,000 for the program from private donors—enough to hire an assistant and to undertake a series of conferences and workshops in collaboration with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. That resulted in a groundbreaking article published in the fall of 1991 in the journal *International Security* titled "On the Threshold: Bio-remedial Changes as Causes of Asian Conflict." It hypothesized that bulging populations and the depletion of resources would impose increasing stresses on poor countries, triggering clashes between ethnic groups, civil strife and intragroups, "each with potentially serious repercussions for the security interests of the developed world."

With that paper, Houser-Deno's reputation took off. "I guess you could say he had the right idea at the right time," says Jack Goldstone, a sociologist at the University of California in Davis. Goldstone Goldstone, an expert on the historical impact of population growth. "His work suggested at a time when people were desperately trying to make sense of all the crises breaking out in places like Somalia and Haiti. And that is remarkably good at putting together a map of ideas and presenting it in a way that is accessible to people in the international-security field."

One recent distinction in the research Houser-Deno and others have done on China. After Goldstone published a book on his famous

col Soling in 1990, the University of Toronto professor invited him to apply his thinking to modern-day China, based on the latest predictions of population growth in that country. To complete the analysis, he called on Yuchan Seng, an expert on Chinese environmental problems at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg.

Their findings, summarized in Houser-Deno's latest paper, "Across the Threshold," published this winter in *International Security*, sharply contradicted the conventional wisdom that China's current 15 per cent annual economic growth rate is propelling the country into the ranks of the developed world. In reality, he says, the economic expansion is confined to coastal regions. The increasing disparity between regions, combined with a self-growing population and shortages of water and arable land, appear capable of sparking large-scale migration and worker uprisings—even the collapse of central authority. Writes Houser-Deno: "The effects of Chinese civil unrest, mass violence and state disintegration could spread far beyond its borders."

To some, that scenario might sound overly pessimistic. But Houser-Deno's conclusions are based on actual. Last spring, after reading a January Monthly article, Vice-President Gore invited the political scientist to dine with him and several senior advisors at his official residence. The session went so well that Gore summoned Houser-Deno

**"Growing up in a very tranquil, peaceful environment, I guess I found it bizarre when people started shooting at each other"**



**Houser-Deno in Ontario's Algonquin Park: "I feel like a hawk with my kit"**

back for a breakfast in early August, this time with Goldstone and Seng. Other guests included CIA director James Woolsey, Brian Atwood, head of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), and Jack Gibbons, Clinton's senior adviser. Says Goldstone: "What was amazing was to have the head of the CIA and AID in the same room, being told by the vice-president that they should pay attention to this research."

Houser-Deno, too, is obviously pleased that his ideas are being discussed at the highest levels of power in Washington. Still, he admits to pangs of self-doubt. "It's flattering to be well known, but I feel like a trout with one hat." Although he is working on another paper and toying with the idea of writing a piece of his own for *The Atlantic*, he also worries that the publicity he is getting will cut into the time available for scholarly work. "I just turned down a grant offer to do a book for a big American publisher—they would send something that would get a lot of attention. I was thrilled, but I said no. If I do a book, I want it to be rock-solid, something that will long out the academic recognition." After all, he may be one of Canada's best-known academics, but he still has to make tenure. □

## A United Nations plan to limit global population growth triggers an acrid war of words

BY PAUL KAHILA

Looking down on Kenya's crime-ridden Mathare Valley, eight kilometers from downtown Nairobi, a visitor sees a dense jumble of one-room shacks made from scrap wood, garbage bags and cardboard stretching out in every direction to the horizon. Locals call the vast shantytown "the valley" a hellish tangle of humanity that is a grotesque affront to any standard of urban/rural dignity. Home to perhaps 360,000 Africans—no one knows for sure—"the valley" has no electricity, no running water and no sanitation system. Instead of roads, the shacks are strung along a desperate maze of rutted dirt lanes—streets with potholes and the heads of children too small to see the rickety and highly contaminated gut latrines. During the season's rainy season, the lanes turn into rivers of mud and sewage.

As incredible as it may sound, thousands of people elect to move to the Mathare capital's largest slum each year because it is better than where they were living before. The migrants are mostly members of the Luo tribe. There is no food, no water, for them in their homeland in the province of Nyanza, a four-hour drive west of Nairobi. The farmers there cannot keep up with the country's average birthrate of 6.3 children per woman—20 times higher than in Canada. Almost all of the arable land is under cultivation, and as scavengers clear more bushland in search of wood for fuel, considerable soil is being eroded by erosion and cheap but toxic pesticides, many of which are banned in developed countries. Every day, more battered refugees of hunger and ecological degradation arrive in Nairobi's Mathare Valley, as ethnic boundaries erode up several square kilometers of bushland each year like a spreading cancer.

What is happening in "the valley," researchers say, is only a microcosm of what will happen across Latin America, Africa and Asia with increasing ferocity in the coming decades because of surging population and shrinking resources. Facing that future, delegates from 186 nations, including Canadian Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi, U.S. Vice President Al Gore and Philippine Prime Minister Benigno Aquino, will assemble in Cairo next week for a UN-sponsored global summit on population—to be staged only a few kilometers from the Egyptian coast off its own swollen shantytowns. At the center of the conference's agenda is a 20-year, \$118-billion program to provide women in developing countries with better access to contraception, health care and schooling. But already the plan has inflamed an old war of words—pitting the Vatican against the United Nations and Islamic fundamentalists against the secular West.

In the past few weeks, Pope John Paul II and senior Catholic officials around the world have orchestrated an silent assault on the conference, accusing the United Nations of conspiring to sanction abortion as a means of family planning in the developing world. "We protest," the Pope declared during a recent general audience in St. Peter's Square. "We cannot walk towards the future with a project of systematic death of the unborn." Carrying the fight a step further, a group of Muslim lawyers last week filed suit against the Egyptian government for agreeing to host the conference, saying the forum violates Islamic morals. Elsewhere, critics on both the left and the right have attacked the conference as either too late, too late, or a costly exercise in social engineering that is bound to fail.

Either way, the question of how many people the Earth can support is now at the top of the international agenda. In the next 25 years, even if the current trend of declining fertility rates continues, the United Na-

tions forecasts that the Earth's population of 5.7 billion will balloon to nearly nine billion. Ninety-five per cent of that growth will take place in the developing world. The upshot, say many experts, is that shantytowns like Mathare's Mathare Valley and refugee-producing conflicts like the recent slaughter in Rwanda will proliferate—creating a 21st

century of growing poverty, warfare and disease in which masses of Third World migrants will be scrambling to get inside the protected states of the industrialized West.

If those forecasts prove accurate, Canadians and other citizens of the developed world may face a stark choice: whether to open their borders to millions of new refugees, or to stem the door shut and turn their backs on the spreading misery. The goal of the Cairo conference is to lower the average global birthrate of 3.3 children per woman to about two, in which case the world's population would peak at about 7.5 billion by the year 2050.

During most of recorded history, the world's population grew by less than one per cent a year, in part because of shorter lives and high infant mortality rates. But with the advent of modern medicine, agriculture and food distribution, average life expectancies worldwide have jumped to 66 years now, from 46 in 1850. As a result, the world's population—which stood at about one

billion in 1800—is now increasing by that number every 20 years. While the steep rise in the world's population in the last half of the 20th century has brought calls for zero, or even negative, population growth, many conservative economists insist that there is no crisis over the Earth's ability to support the expected increase. Miscalculated "Malthusians," they argue, call the

international market will always find a substitute product or a new technology to circumvent shortages of particular resources. A case in point is copper in the 1970s, when environmentalists predicted that the metal would be in short supply in the 1990s. Instead, there is a glut of copper and prices have plummeted because fibre-optic cable and plastic piping have replaced copper in many uses.

As for crowded slums and food shortages in the developing world, the neocons argue that that crisis tends to have fewer children as their incomes rise. Economist

Michael Walker of the Fraser Institute, a conservative Vancouver think-tank, says that the key to increasing the productivity of farmers like those in Kenya's Nyanza province. That can be accomplished, he says, by protecting property rights so that farmers can take out loans and invest in tools and crops. Walker adds that the UN should concentrate on restructuring develop-



■ Pope John Paul II: The Vatican has launched an all-out assault.



ing countries along free market lines rather than spending money on family planning and health services. "They bring a calculator on how you're going to manipulate millions of people into having fewer babies," Walker says mockingly. "State intervention does not work."

But while the general opinion of the consensus is crumbling, it conflicts with the rough consensus emerging among most demographers, so critics and policy analysts involved in population and resource research. Their view is that a high percentage of the planet's people are destined to live with poverty and violence unless population growth is dramatically reduced. That was the conclusion of a yearling study by researchers at Cornell University's department of ecology and agriculture. Interestingly, their report, released in February, does not point to the depletion of nonrenewable resources like oil as the problem. Rather, they say, the Earth's biosphere can only produce enough renewable resources—food, fresh water and land—to sustain two billion people at a standard of living equal to that in Europe.

According to Cornell's David Zymeroff, a professor of insect ecology and agricultural sciences and Nobel-winning physicist Henry W. Harkins chairs in the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), President and Kennell state that even if the United Nations' population target of 2.8 billion were met, world food production would have to triple in the next 50 years for every individual to have an adequate diet. That prospect is at best ominous, they add, because less than half of the world's land is suitable for agriculture, and almost all of that is already exploited. Moreover, many of the benefits of the Green Revolution, which boosted crop yields with irrigation, fertilizer and pesticides, have already been realized—along with such adverse side-effects as soil erosion, pollution and water shortages.

Five long-term environmental predictions, largely centered by the industrialized countries, could also lower crop yields: increased climatic variation due to the draining ozone layer and reduced precipitation because of global warming. Said Zymeroff: "While the number of mouths to feed has increased, grain production has actually been declining since 1981."

According to yet another study, released on Aug. 25 by the Washington-based Woodhatch Institute, the solutions involved by conservatives are unlikely to save of disaster. While Western countries believe most large-scale famines in Africa are the India in the 1980s with Green Revolution aid programs, there is no one better positioned to help combat famine than the people who have been hit by it. The solutions involved by conservatives are unlikely to save of disaster. While Western countries believe most large-scale famines in Africa are the India in the 1980s with Green Revolution aid programs, there is no one better positioned to help combat famine than the people who have been hit by it.

Perhaps the most provocative research on the consequences of the increasing gap between resource and population is being done by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. In its report, "The World's Food and the World's People" (1989), the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) states that the world's food production is not keeping pace with the world's population growth. The report, released in February, states that the world's food production is not keeping pace with the world's population growth. The report, released in February, states that the world's food production is not keeping pace with the world's population growth.

**Shortages near Manila streets, where two million people go hungry**

ing Horacio Dizon's findings, said that recent uprisings in Haiti, Mexico and Rwanda were all examples of "resource conflicts." Declared World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn, "These conflicts could intensify and widen as ever-growing populations compete for an overreaching supply of land, fuel and water."

For that reason, says World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn, "These conflicts could intensify and widen as ever-growing populations compete for an overreaching supply of land, fuel and water." For that reason, says World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn, "These conflicts could intensify and widen as ever-growing populations compete for an overreaching supply of land, fuel and water." For that reason, says World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn, "These conflicts could intensify and widen as ever-growing populations compete for an overreaching supply of land, fuel and water."

## A Vatican official warned that the Cairo conference could spark 'the most disastrous massacre in history'

The United Nations also wants to distribute contraceptives more widely and teach women that spacing out progeny lowers birth rates. Yet in many African cultures, there are powerful obstacles to family planning. In rural areas, men often want large families as a testament to virility, or as insurance that they will be cared for in their old age—and wives inevitably oblige. Teresa Derosa, 33, an Italian nun, says that she spent several years at an Ethiopian monastery, says that she is often one of the few forms of contraception available to poor people. "There's not much else to do after that when there's no electricity and the wood fires are out."

The United Nations says that programs such as one in northeastern Cameroon can help to modernize male attitudes. There, the country's health ministry selected 80 "model opinion leaders," including tribal

leaders, and convinced them to distribute condoms and contraceptives. According to a United Nations report, "More than half of those who were not using a modern family planning method at the outset had begun to do so by the end of the project."

In the Vatican, these efforts are not fully accepted but are not totally rejected either. Pope John Paul II's apostolic letter, "Theology of the Body," approved of natural methods of birth control—abstinence during menstruation—but bans the use of any artificial form of contraception as well as abortion. Although it does not actively promote abortion as a form of family planning, the Cairo document calls on governments to "evaluate and review laws and policies on abortion so that they take into account the current state of women's health... rather than relying on criminal codes or outdated measures." Church officials interpret the document as legalizing abortion. And in July, the head of the Vatican's Council for the Family, Giovanni Cardinal Luigi Bommarito, predicted that the Cairo conference would lead to "the most disastrous massacre in history" if it did not call for an outright ban on abortion.

Frances Kissling, a vocal critic and director of the Washington-based Catholics for a Free Choice, states "The Vatican is saying that the Cairo document is an example of the western plague of individualism and consumerism, and that it wants to convert these simpler, poorer people of the south from being seduced by these diseases." She adds, "Its opposition to this conference is absolutely unconscionable in the face of massive poverty and limited resources. The Pope's stance would condemn millions more people to misery and death."

Population politics, meanwhile, have made strange bedfellows. Some Arab countries in the United States and Islamic fundamentalists in Arab countries, have joined the attack against the Cairo conference, calling it, among other things, an attempt to weaken the developing world. "These family-planning policies are designed to hold off the decreasing proportion of white people in the world at the expense of black people," declares Cornell World Bank, a professor of history and edu-



**Family planning course in the Philippines. Population reliefers (left) improve the status of women**

cally severe climate and famine for the world, says the Cairo document does not go far enough. Life and other researchers say that the goal should be to reduce the world's population, not just slow its growth. If such could have an average of 1.5 children, he says, the world would have two billion people by the year 2100—an actual number given the planet's history. To meet that target, Planned Parenthood estimates that more than 100 million women would have to have fewer than two children. "We need to have a global crisis of conscience," says Kissling. "We need to have a global crisis of conscience." "We need to have a global crisis of conscience."

Many have reflected against their populations before. In the 1940s, for instance, war and disease wiped out as many as 45 million people, or close to half of Europe's population at the end of 200 years of explosive growth. In the modern world, mobility has sometimes allowed people to dodge similar catastrophes, as when more than a million Irish emigrated to North America during the 1840s potato famine. In the 21st century, the choice may be to open the world's doors to countless millions of new refugees from places like Somalia's Markab Valley—or to spend billions of dollars to prevent what experts say could be a global crisis of unprecedented magnitude.

With CHRIS DEARNEY in Nairobi, JOHN ELKIN in Rome and ARNOLD BRITTON in Thessalonica





# World NOTES



Well-weathered aid: Cuban refuges near Havana: a Cold War refugee crisis

## Turning the tide

**B**all weather accomplished what U.S. President Bill Clinton had failed to do: the tide of Cuban refugees sailing through the Straits of Florida. Some 12,000 Cubans embarked on the 90-mile voyage across shark-infested waters last week behind high winds, heavy rains and 19-foot swells slowed theodus to a trickle. Still, by then, nearly 17,000 refugees were on their way to the U.S. Coast Guard ships in the Gulf of Mexico. The U.S. Coast Guard ships in the Gulf of Mexico. The U.S. Coast Guard ships in the Gulf of Mexico. The U.S. Coast Guard ships in the Gulf of Mexico.

Because of a recent U.S. policy shift, the Cubans are aware that they are no longer eligible for automatic political asylum. That has not deterred them from trying to leave their homeland. Those who reach Florida are taken immediately to a federal detention center outside Miami, while those intercepted at sea by U.S. Coast Guard ships are sent to the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. There, American military personnel are expanding housing and other facilities for as many as 45,000 Cubans—a clear sign that U.S. officials rejected the notion to resume over the weather cleared.

In Havana, President Fidel Castro opposed an state administration to reject charges by Washington that Communist repression was the

cause of the refugee crisis. Castro blamed a crippling U.S. economic embargo, and he accused U.S. officials of smuggling illegal weapons from Cuba by annually granting visas to a fraction of the 20,000 emigrants. He said Washington has promised to treat under a 1964 bilateral accord. Castro also called for negotiations with the United States to end long-standing disagreements. But the Clinton administration balked at the suggestion of talks with a Cold War enemy—all but insisting that the refugee crisis will continue.

## Peace signs

After a quarter century of sectarian strife, Northern Ireland is on the verge of peace. There is the optimism greeted by six American political, labor and business leaders who are in Belfast with members of Sinn Féin, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The unofficial U.S. delegation pressed for a landmark ceasefire by IRA members who have been waging armed struggle against British rule. Although Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams refused to comment on the issue of a ceasefire or whether the IRA would renounce violence, he declared that "there is a historic opportunity opening up that needs to be seized."

## NUCLEAR SMUGGLING

Russian authorities caught two men stealing rare kilograms of uranium-238 at a nuclear weapons complex in central Russia. And Estonian police seized three kilograms of smuggled uranium in recent months. German security agents have found four shipments of plutonium and enriched uranium, which they say came from the former Soviet Union or Russia. Russia and Germany have agreed to cooperate to combat nuclear smuggling.

## A RISING TOLL

Ethiopian UN peacekeepers took up duties in southwestern Rwanda, where departing French troops had established a protection zone for ethnic Hutus who fear retribution for the massacre of at least 500,000 Tutsis since April. Charles Pasqua, deputy co-ordinator of the UN Rwanda Emergency Office, said that the first death toll in the central African state could be as high as 1.5 million.

## PALESTINIAN RULE

Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization initiated an agreement giving autonomy to Palestinians in education, health, taxation, social welfare and tourism throughout the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Under a 1993 peace accord, Israel agreed to "early empowerment" in the West Bank once Palestinian self-rule had begun in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank enclave of Jericho.

## PILOTS CHARGED

South Korean police had charges of negligence against Canadian pilot Barry Broward Woods of Vancouver and co-pilot Chang Chuan-qi in the Aug. 10 crash of a passenger plane on the island of Cheju. If convicted, Woods and Chang, who blamed each other for the accident, could face up to three years in prison.

## A VICTORY FOR CLINTON

The U.S. Senate passed a sweeping \$40-billion crime bill, giving President Bill Clinton one of his biggest legislative victories. The bill bans certain semiautomatic weapons and funds more police, prisons and crime-prevention programs.

## PEACEKEEPERS KILLED

Heavily armed Somali militiamen ambushed a UN-escorted convoy about 170 km southwest of Mogadishu, killing seven Indian peacekeepers and wounding nine. More than 100 peacekeepers have been killed since U.S.-led forces first entered the Somali capital to end famine and chaos in December 1992.

# TO BOLDLY GO WHERE WE'VE GONE BEFORE.

CBC PRIME TIME NEWS MOVES TO 10PM, SEPTEMBER 6

(10:30 PM in Newfoundland)

# PEGGY MEETS THE BOYS CLUB

*Peggy Witte stood the old mining fraternity on its ear with her play for Lac*



■ Barra: a sweetened offer wins Lac's backing



■ Pirbadi: justifying hostile bid



■ Barra: forced aside at Lac

BY BRENDA DALGLISH

**P**eggy Witte can sell. Ross Barra, vice-president of exploration at her company Royal Oak Mines Inc. and a longtime friend, says that her powers of persuasion are exceptional. "I'd just hate to meet her on a used car lot," says the genial geologist. "God knows what I'd end up buying." As a child, she and her brother, Craig Kent, opened a roadside corn stand on their parents' farm outside Fallon, Nev. She stayed in the shade at the stand, greeting customers and collecting cash while Craig, now a 38-year-old cardiovascular surgeon and Harvard University professor, lagged coils in from the fields. Soon, she began posting signs along the highway, advertising on the radio and selling to the local grocery store. "By the time Peggy was done," recalls Craig, "we were mass producing." She also financed her master's degree at the Mackay School of Mining in Reno, Nev., with a novel job: "I sold for crabs," she says, "in the middle of the summer, in the middle of the desert." Gamblers who had won at the hotel casinos would take their lady friends across the street to the slightly seedy fashion store where she worked. "The thing was to get them to put the coat on lay away before they went back to the tables." Even if their luck deserted them, Witte got the down payment.

Although the stakes are much higher, Witte, 40, used a similar strategy this summer when she launched a \$2.4-billion takeover of the much larger Lac Minerals Ltd. As chairman and chief executive officer of Vancouver-based Royal Oak, Witte assumed the possible outcome and decided that, regardless of who eventually took over Lac, her company would benefit by making a bid that included both cash and shares. If that bid succeeded, Witte would have pulled off the biggest reverse takeover ever in the Canadian mining industry. If another company topped her offer and took the prize, she could still limit her loss by selling the 3.8 million Lac shares that Royal Oak accumulated before launching its attack and driving up Lac's share price (page 38). In the end, Witte appears to have lost Lac and she says that she may even have incurred costs slightly above the \$11-million profit on Lac's share price. More significant, however, she and her management team gained exceptional admiration and respect for a company of Royal Oak's modest size. "I'm disappointed," said Witte as she returned on a flight back to Vancouver from Toronto last Wednesday, just three hours after American Barrick Resources Corp. of Toronto announced that it had struck a friendly deal with Lac's management and increased its bid. "But I know we didn't lose."

Although Witte's return to her home turf was not triumphant, she was still the talk of the town in Toronto, the locus of power for the Old Boys club in the industry (page 34). Throughout the takeover campaign, executives from Lac, which was led by interim chairman James Pirbadi, subtly dismissed Royal Oak as an overly ambitious upstart with delusions of grandeur. Still, at the hastily assembled news conference where Lac and Barrick presented the terms of their complex \$2.2-billion deal, Barrick's urban





no games about buying orders at his.

Barns cites an incident from 1891 as a telling sign of her toughness. White had just inaugurated an assortment of taxes into Royal Oak when she faced a potentially disastrous decision. By bookending the company's budget position—in other words, selling an insurance against the possibility that gold prices would fall below the price at which the mines could produce it—White realized she could pay off all of the company's debt. However, if gold prices fell, the company would be forced to shut mines. In doing more that shocked her inner circle, White sold the hedge. "Operation went in to shock for a month—and I mean SHOCK," chuckled Barns, nodding his head towards the office of Royal Oak's head of operations on the other side of his nose. "It wasn't said that moment that everyone realized that they really had to get operating costs down." Barns says that without White, Royal Oak would not be as profitable. "She's the one who keeps her eye on the bottom line," says Barns. "If she wasn't here, we'd do things the easier way, and that would be more expensive."

But others note that her strength, when unleashed, can create complications. In 1991, White dug in her heels at the Giant mine in Yukon, Canada, when miners refused to accept her contract offer. Instead of pursuing a settlement, she brought in subsidiaries to operate Giant at their place. As the tension mounted, an explosion was set off in a mine shaft and nine men were killed. A former sister, Roger Wallace, 49 years, has been charged with first-degree murder and will go to trial Sept. 28. For his part, Steve Hargrove, head of the Canadian Auto Workers' new union at the Giant mine, holds White partly responsible for the carnage. "Did you have to do as look at the widow of the striking miner after she heard the scales to know that there was a danger," said Hargrove. "You have to be totally insensitive to deal with people the way she was." Hargrove says that he considers White unyielding in the industry for her ability to raise gold and make money. "That is a source of her relationships with people," he says, "she has absolutely no comprehension of how to deal with working people." Furthermore, Hargrove claims that White is as arrogant and patronizing in her approach. "Clear she doesn't think it's good for people, she figures that's satisfactory. It doesn't matter what they think."

White admits that she is "haunted" by the tragedies at the Giant mine. Still, it is not likely that her momentum will be slowed by any reprisals about past mistakes or school. White believes that she has a vision on the future and on her next challenge. She has taken on the Big Boys once—and it's only a matter of time before she tackles their again.

With Andrew White in HONOLULU

## Pointing fingers

If the organizers of the Commonwealth Games have got barred with bad intentions and decide to back out, the recent collapse of Confederation Life Insurance Co. has revealed at least one alternative sport: fingerpointing. In corporate circles, Canada has some true champions in this event. The rules are simple: the equalizer is mutual.

In the case of Confederation Life, the company's first financial troubles led to a scorching finger-flicking to players from Ottawa to Bay Street geared up for the inevitable lawsuit. By the time Confederation Life finally imploded on Aug. 11, all parties concerned were post-mortem. And without missing a beat, the blame was neatly parceled out among them: Management—past and present—was con-

spired for overly aggressive investments in risky real estate. The fledgling trust subsidiary was limited for supporting the strength of the established insurance operation. The directors were taken to task for their failure to run as a prudent trust. And even Great West Life, the company that was poised to bail out Confederation Life, was criticized for taking too long before backing out.

But even among the most accomplished finger-pointers, the perennially popular—and the unforgotten—thing to attack was the regulation of the insurance industry. "Fingerpointing, after all, is not a contact sport. And government regulation is a broad enough subject that knowledge it can create the appearance of action without actually making the heat. In keeping with that spirit, the Senate banking committee, which will conduct a post-mortem on Confederation Life with a series of hearings this fall, made it clear that it is not embarking on a "witch-hunt." Rather, it intends to probe such grand issues as regulatory policy and insurance industry structure.

Above all, the Senate's faithful review should show everyone else in print ahead with their respective agencies while preserving a neatly appearance of concern about Confederation Life's policyholders. The Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association, for one, is already up on its feet, barking about the need to create a new



BY DEBORAH MCNEELY

Crowd corporation. This proposed body would be dedicated to protecting insurance policyholders in the same manner that bank and trust company clients are protected—up to a \$50,000 limit—by the Canada Deposit Insurance Corp. (CDIC). Sounds like a solid, safe idea, right?

Wrong. A recent report from the C. D. Howe Institute, "Insurance Failure: A Study of Documents how government-backed deposit insurance has directly contributed to insolvency and instability in the domestic banking sector since it was introduced in 1967. According to the study, the CDIC has enabled weaker, non-sound financial institutions to enter a newly deregulated market and to operate aggressively without assuming real risk. The CDIC safety net ultimately guarantees that their stronger peers will bail them out in the pinch.

So why on earth is the insurance industry—especially at a time of considerable uncertainty—eagerly voicing interest in adding itself with the most common obligations and responsibilities? The answer lies in the highly flawed "recapitalization" of Canada's financial services sector. As the industry has attempted to steadily encroach upon the traditional turf of brokers, mutual funds, trust companies and, increasingly, insurance companies, the latter has become a huge competitor. Because the CDIC virtually eliminates risk for depositors, it allows banks to attract capital and customers at a relatively low cost.

For insurance companies, who are now sleeping it out with the banks in their own market—while still laboriously trying to build a new customer base for their brand-new risk of financial products—the banks' guaranteed grip on their clients is making it tough to survive, let alone compete. Just as the rules of deregulation allowed backdated brokerage firms to displace forward-thinking competitors out of Canadian stock markets, it is now causing firms like New York Life to withdraw from the Canadian insurance business. And when the financial services playing field is levelled down, there won't even be enough fingers left to get a good pointing match going.



Commonwealth Games sport

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#### A SECOND SERVING

The long-simmering McCain family feud boiled over again after a company board vote—for the second time in a year—to remove Wallace McCain, 66, its retired executive officer of McCain Foods Ltd. He shares the post with brother Hamon, 66, and the two have been fighting for years over who should succeed them at the helm of the private global food empire based in Punnacatta, N.D. Wallace has proposed to resolve the dispute by selling public stock in McCain Foods.

#### BLACK INK FOR HOLLINGER

Corbett Black's Hollinger Inc. reported second-quarter profits of \$96.4 million on sales of \$359.5 million despite a British newspaper strike that stopped earlier this year. A spokesman for Vancouver-based Hollinger said that profits were up everywhere except at British-based Telegraph PLC, which The Daily Telegraph is engaged in a price war with Rupert Murdoch's The Times.

#### HELPING THE COMPETITION

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) said Canada's major telephone companies to send—and pay for—a notice to customers this fall explaining the services offered by the companies' new long-distance competitors.

A new player also entered the long-distance carrier arena as Montreal-based Forcelle Inc. reached agreement with the Canadian National Railway Co. to upgrade its a fibre-optic long-distance line.

#### STILL ON THE JOB

Liquidators for failed Confederation Life Insurance Co. of Toronto said that about 30 per cent of its 1,300 Canadian employees will keep their jobs for up to 12 months "in view of the active discussions in progress with potential purchasers." So far, 176 people, mainly from the administration support and marketing divisions, have been laid off since regulators seized the company last month.

#### COUNTING ON GAIT

The new version of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which comes into effect next year, will result in a permanent annual gain of \$400 for a family of four, according to a new federal finance department study. The study also projects relatively little disruption to the domestic economy as a result of the agreement—which was signed by more than 120 countries—to lower tariffs and provide clearer guidelines for trade policies and regulations.

# Business NOTES Butterflies are free

Maclean Hunter Ltd.'s final struggle against a takeover by Rogers Communications Inc. likely died on the 21st floor at Ottawa's offices, two days after the federal budget was released on Feb. 22. According to federal documents obtained under the Access to Information Act, Finance Minister Paul Martin, with the advice of his deputy minister, David Dodge, was faced into a decision: to let a corporate takeover drama that already ended on March 6 when the MHI board finally recommended that shareholders accept Rogers' \$2-billion offer to let department of finance bureaucrats find themselves sandwiched between the parties by both of the funding companies in a blurring paper trail.

At the heart of the two-month takeover drama were Maclean Hunter's U.S. cable assets they were to be sold off no matter who was ultimately in control of the company. For its part, Rogers intended to sell the cable holdings in lowest rounds of the takeover. But MHI management was loathe to sell the American cable television assets to push its value to shareholders higher first, it would be easier Rogers' offer of \$17.50 a share.

The government documents show that Rogers was able to sell the cable assets tax free because it planned to send up MHI when the takeover was finalized MHI, however, was fully taxable in the event of a sale because it was the living end of tax changes to the Income Tax Act in the Feb. 22 budget. It had planned to use a popular corporate tax avoidance mechanism known as the "passive butterfly." Using this technique, MHI planned to transfer the cable assets to a new corporation owned by its own shareholders. It would then sell the new company to an unrelated party to avoid \$200 million in capital-gains tax.

Ottawa, however, closed the so-called butterfly loophole in its February budget and government documents indicate that department of finance bureaucrats knew what the impact would be. A briefing note to Martin stated:

"Maclean Hunter claims that, because Rogers can sell the U.S. subsidiaries without corporate tax, the budget proposal has tipped the playing field in favor of a takeover company."

Two days after the budget, MHI demoralized—and got a meeting with taxation officials to seek an exemption, or so-called grandfathering. But Dodge advised Martin that providing exemptions to MHI would be seen as taking sides in a matter between two companies in the private sector. "If the government were to provide an exemption to the rules for Maclean Hunter, the government would be perceived to be backtracking on its corporate tax policy during negotiations," Dodge wrote in a memorandum to Martin. It concludes:

"This would be politically embarrassing and send a signal to other taxpayers to initiate lobbying efforts for their particular concerns." In his note to Martin, Dodge also had a more incoherent warning: "Rogers has argued that it would strongly object to any special accommodations being given by the government to Maclean Hunter." But



■ Martin: a decisive role in a controversial corporate takeover

144, Rogers vice-chairman, who acknowledges that the company knew about its quarry's lobbying efforts. Rogers chairman Garfield Emerson filed a letter to Martin on Feb. 26, the same day his officials were talking to MHI. In the letter, Emerson urged Martin to stay out of the takeover struggle. "Any special concessions or exemptions to [Maclean Hunter] would be without public policy justification and discriminatory to other taxpayers," Emerson wrote. MHI president Rick Osborne declined to comment.

In the end, a technicality even put Rogers close to a million tax bill. Because it planned to put MHI into the hands of a trust not for government regulators approved the takeover, Rogers implicated its tax status. Finally, Finance officials ruled that the Income Tax Act was not intended to prevent a temporary trust arrangement concerned with a tax-free windup.

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## Calling Jacques Parizeau's bluff

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Back on June 21, 1990, Brian Mulroney rose to address the House of Assembly in Newfoundland. It was a two-hour baffle the Merch Lake accord was due to the and the prime minister's appearance was a dramatic last-ditch effort to save his constitutional initiative by trying to bring the province's governing Liberals on side. At the time, Mulroney believed that Clyde Wells would keep his written undertaking to either hold a referendum in March or send members of the Newfoundland legislature to declare themselves on the issue. Wells never did allow the vote and Mulroney died, but the speech Mulroney gave that night, as many drafts written by himself on the phrase from Ottawa to St. John's, finds haunting echoes in the current Quebec election campaign.

If Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard agree on anything apart from the fact that they're grand boys who want to destroy Canada, it's that the dossier of Merch Lake gives their cause the kick start it needed. "Thirty years of struggle ended in failure, broken promises and shattered dreams for Quebec," Bouchard has reiterated in part about every speech he has given since he became a full-time independence crusader. "Quebecers remember the reputation at the end of the Merch Lake accord in 1960, and we should not forget that the free constitutional conditions set by Quebec at the time were the most modest ever to be achieved by a Quebec Government."

Jean Allaire, the *Montreal Herald* columnist who failed to ask Robert Bourassa's Liberals to adopt his radical nationalism platform, has lambasted Merch in the most telling terms: "Coming on the heels of more than 30 years of sustained effort of the 1967 constitutional pact, the failure of the Merch Lake accord was clearly an event of historic significance." It was not at the time "it was perceived, as is reflected by Canada to recognize the distinct value of Quebec's society, neither proof that it

**Many fear that a PQ victory will mean another constitutional talk-fest. No way. Once Parizeau's in, Quebec's out.**

was responsible for Quebec to obtain within the existing federal structure, the powers essential to its survival and full development."

There was so much overblown rhetoric to avoid on all sides of that latent initiative that the quickest way to empty any room in Canada, even now, is to reiterate about Merch and its impact. But those lessons from Quebec were real, and we're now paying the consequences for what happened.

As the Quebec campaign grinds to its all but inevitable conclusion of a seigniorial victory at the polls—with a referendum to follow—it's useful to recall Mulroney's words on that long ago evening in St. John's: "Nobody can predict the future," he said. "But I know this: that if Mr. Parizeau gets a chance to have a referendum, that on referendum night, in 1992 and all the rest of us, too, on that night, when you're sitting there with your families and your children, one thought is going to go through your mind. And that thought is: 'Do you want to tell me we could have resolved all this through Merch Lake? If that might ever have come, the terms of Merch Lake are going to look very, very reasonable.'"

That was a prophetic insight worth considering for anyone who still buys the Bouchard line that a vote for the Parti Quebecois doesn't necessarily mean independence, at least not until a referendum is held on the issue, a year or so later.

That's been history.

The PQ's own platform (in an excellent English translation by journalist Robert Chouin) is evasive in bookends under the title *Quebec is a New World*. It's an essential read because it sets out precisely and emotionally what Parizeau has in store for his province and our country.

Once in office, the PQ will visit the National Assembly to approve a resolution affirming Quebec's independence and will thus conclude a constitutional convention to define its terms. The PQ's published platform details the first steps towards secession: it would take a Parizeau government will make certain that all issues raised in Quebec are collected by the new Quebec government, that laws which apply to Quebec citizens are drawn from the Quebec National Assembly, and that international treaties are redrafted in a form that will require ratification by the new Quebec.

The only exception of Ottawa is an ostensible address for business to seal his intentions. But, as his platform puts it, the "assurances for trademark powers and the determination of the rules for dividing Canadian assets and debts." Parizeau's aim is to make a new constitution which will be submitted to the people. In other words, the referendum will not deal with whether Quebecers want to stay in Canada, but only on how the new republic on the St. Lawrence should divide itself.

Even if Parizeau has appeared to waffle in all directions during the current election campaign, his platform is crystal clear about the details of his intention. Quebec's incumbent lieutenant-governor would, as the Queen's representative, be fired and replaced by a "representative head of state," all federal powers would be transferred to the province (the 1980 Canadian referendum included the 1980 Canadian St. Lawrence Service) would be severed without compensation, and so on. The Quebec Republic would of course go to keep such Canadian advantages as our currency and passports. *Fin chiove.*

Blasphemy through the reclamation of language. Many Canadians believe that if Parizeau is elected, we'll promptly sink into yet another constitutional limbo, trying to square the circle of French-English relations in this bicultural land of ours.

No way. Once Parizeau's in, Quebec's out. It's urgent to achieve this as early as possible, as rapidly as possible. The PQ leader himself says the agency is understandable. On Aug. 9, Parizeau celebrated his 64th birthday. He knows he only has one shot at being the first head of state of the new Quebec. Lucien Bouchard, who is only 56, has a lot more time, which explains why he's administering such warm cautious and gradual approach. But the election of both men presents a clear and present danger to Canada's future.



Why, representing an 'unconquerable' province

## OUT OF ANONYMITY

Michael Riley does drop into his characters. For Richard Rishi, a new movie by Canadian director David Wilcox that opens this week, Riley researched his role by talking to medical interns at the University of California in Los Angeles, where he has been living for the past three years. The result is a juicy, marginally pornographic of a medical young doctor confiding his past in the anguish of Guyana. And it exemplifies the character actor's ability of the Los Angeles, Ontario actor, born known as an open-labeling literary worker in *Playboy* (1986) and as a

determined cop in the 1980 TV series *21 Cents a Kiss*. But to Hollywood, that talent has a downside. "The bad people in LA say parable, it's going to take you longer time because you're more comfortable—that's the word they keep using," says Riley. St. John's has a major part in the opening comedy *The Making of...* And God Spoke and a supporting role in Lawrence Bender's next picture, *Point Blank*. And Riley says that, for now, a slightly south of the border must have fun. "I kind of get on it," he adds. "I can sit in the back of a public theatre and really be part of it."

## OLD PUNKERS NEVER DIE

Even as punk queens were denouncing it after the rock show he attended the 25th anniversary of Woodstock in August, another rock revivalist arrived. In 1971, three exiled young musicians from New York City all adopted the last name Rayon and landed their tough, angry songs about inner despair and rebellion onto the music scene. Now, 20 years later and no longer a trio—the band now consists of four—the *Rayons*, known for their 1979 hit song *Rock It Real High*, have just released a new album, *And Forever*. And, in celebration, a selection of Woodstock's greatest songs is being released. *Concussion: Rockers Revival* (New York: First See the Band) and *Just and David's Self* City. "We wanted to do some of our favorite songs—the songs that inspired us," explains lead singer Joey, one of the two original band members. (The other is guitarist Johnny.) And they show how attracted to just their original selves, and a new era of love. "It's kind of cool to look back and see the audience and see a whole range of ages," says Johnny. "Older people and younger people are getting together on our own terms." Just like the Woodstock reunion.

## OPPORTUNITY ROCKS

It was a prophetic gift. A little more than a year ago, Montreal newspaper columnist and city councillor Nicky And the *More* bought his daughter Melissa a new bass guitar for her 21st birthday. Just three weeks ago, the 21-year-old photographer surprised—and part-time struggling musician with the Montreal band *Under*—landed a job as bass player at *Hole*, the Seattle-based group led by Courtney Love, widow of grunge superstar Kurt Cobain, who also learned to drink on April 1 last week. And the *More* opened with *Hole* for the first time before 40,000 people on the main stage of the Reading Music Festival in England. And in October, she and the band will play on Saturday Night Live. Still, *Hole* isn't a troubled past, previous losses. Kristin Pfaff died following a heroin overdose, and Love has a volatile personality. "I know it will be a lot of work, but it's great as an opportunity to turn down in love," and And the *More*, who was recommended to Love by a mutual friend, Billy Corgan of the Chicago group *Semantic*. And Nicky And the *More* seems really behind his daughter's decision to play the controversial group. "That's what bass guitar is for."

And the *More*, an ace in the hole



## MAKING AN IMPRESSION

For West Coast artist Roy Henry Vickers, the Commonwealth Games, which ended a Victoria on the weekend, reminded special memories. The 46-year-old Vancouver artist's relationship with Queen Elizabeth II, who visited the Games, extended back to 1957 when he met her to receive a Silver Jubilee Award for his artistic accomplishments. In 1987, she accepted one of his paintings. This year, although he did not see the Queen, the Games had other benefits for the artist. The B.C.-based Vickers, many Games visitors dropped into his new art gallery in Victoria, the Eagle's Moon, where the province will go to support an additional revenue source that he hopes to establish in central British Columbia. As well as artistic adviser to the 523-million Sanath Commonwealth Place, the Games opening and closing ceremonies, Vickers contributed an entrance modelled after traditional a coastal Indian long house, among other designs. "I saw the great opportunity of my life," Vickers explained, "to make an impression on the world at how much we need to honor our First Nations peoples." Judging from the positive reactions, many visitors, he succeeded.

Vickers' contribution to the art of sport

Edited by JIM CHASELEY

# An island of death and memory

They came to honor the dead and to remember tragedy. About 400 people, most of them Irish-Canadian, arrived by boat at Grosse-Île, a beautiful but uninhabited island in the St. Lawrence River, 45 km northeast of Quebec City. They commemorated the thousands of impoverished Irish immigrants who died of typhoid and cholera while quarantined at the island in the mid-19th century. But the Aug. 21 ceremony was a historic occasion in its own right—the first visit to the island by an Irish president. As part of her 30-day tour of Canada, which officially ends this week in Montreal, President Mary Robinson led a wreath of a white crane on Grosse-Île and said the crowd that would only strengthen as we return today in Ireland and Scotland. "This is a hallowed ground," Robinson said. "It is a resource to connect us with the terrible realities of our current world."

The brief but solemn ceremony was dampened by heavy rain and thick fog—and the future of the site remains a bit cloudy, as well. In 1992, Parks Canada officials refused a plan to develop Grosse-Île as a national historic site dedicated to 20th and early 20th-century immigrants. But Irish-Canadian groups protested that it downplayed the suffering of their ancestors who died the cholera and typhoid fever of the late 1840s. "They sought to relegate the Irish experience on Grosse-Île to a footnote and to lump us together with British immigrants," says Michael Quigley, a Hamilton-based writer who helped found a coalition of 130 groups opposed to the original plan. "The truth is that Grosse-Île is an Irish graveyard." Robinson says before Robinson's visit, Ottawa tried again. Canadian Heritage Minister Michel Duguay announced a new project that places portraits of the Irish tragedy. Parks Canada officials estimate that the project could cost up to \$13 million over five years—but some Irish-Canadian activists remain doubtful that their ancestors' stories will be adequately told.

For most of each year, Grosse-Île is breezy, empty and forlorn. And even during the summer months, only 15,000 to 30,000 tourists visit the wooded island, which, while just 25 km long and nearly a kilometer wide, is rich in history. From 1822 until 1937, it served as a

quarantine station for immigrants arriving in Canada after their transatlantic crossings. During the Second World War, the department of national defence used the island as a porta-warrior research site. And from 1965 until the mid-1980s, the federal department of agriculture quarantined imported cattle and sheep to ensure that they were disease-free.

But the heart of the Grosse-Île story harks back to 1845—the swiftest manner of sorrow. It occurred during the height of the Irish famine, which was caused partly by a mysterious blight that had ruined the potato crop for three successive years and that eventually led a million dead from starvation. The British government, which ruled Ireland, tried public works projects and soup kitchens—in response to allegations that many Irishmen were starving. But the British simply allowed the Irish to starve. In 1847 alone, an estimated 250,000 people fled their homeland for North America. But thousands of these would-be settlers never made it to new homes in Upper and Lower Canada, the British North American colonies that later became Ontario and Quebec.

The first ship arrived at Grosse-Île in mid-May and by the end of that month, 38 vessels, with almost 12,500 passengers aboard, were anchored at the island. However, but died during the voyage—government officials who suspected the lower decks of the ships often found the sick lying on to corpses. At first, some of the living were brought ashore for treatment, but the isolated colonies on Grosse-Île were so inadequate that the government decided that most of the passengers would have to remain on board until the ships were cleared to continue upriver to Quebec City or Montreal. That, many historians now say, was a mistake: an epidemic of typhoid—disease transmitted by body lice and accompanied by high fever, delirium and headaches—spread for their and faster than it would have if the immigrants had been allowed to disembark. Some historians estimate that more than 60,000 Irish immigrants set out for British North America in 1847, and nearly 25,000 died during the crossing or shortly after arriving.

For visitors today, 20 historic buildings recreate an impression of Grosse-Île's terrible past. But only one, the grey, weathered stone money washer hospital, will stand from the 1840s. A dozen of 50 white wooden crosses mark the mass graves of the immigrants. "Two rows above the sombre scene is a 14-m-high Celtic cross, made of granite and erected in 1909 by an Irish cultural group, the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Parks Canada now plans to reinter some of the old buildings and to use one of them as an interpretive centre—a place, Irish-Canadian hope, to better tell future generations about the 'summer of sorrow'."

DARCY BENDER with MARK CARROLL on Grosse-Île

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In 1945, on return from overseas with the RCAR, Cecil became a Ford Motor Company district sales manager in Saint John, N.B. From 1973 until 1975, he was the General Sales Manager at Hillside Motors in Charlottetown, where he has been president of the Fortinet, Buick and GMC truck dealership since for the past 17 years.

Cecil has been a member of FADA for 32 years and was vice president of FADA as well as president of the P.E.I. Dealers Association. Currently, he is president of the General Motors Premier Buick GMC Maritime Dealers Marketing Association.

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# All that glitters

Victoria lowers a curtain on the Commonwealth Games

In her black and purple leotard, tall cap, white T-shirt, dressy socks, and wire-rim dark glasses and Doc Martens, South African hurdler Debbie Flintoff-King is hard to tell apart at a glance from the young teens who flock around her for autographs. But the professionalist that the *Montenap*, Oct. 29, 30-year-old has acquired after spending two-thirds of her young life as a competitive gymnast was unmistakable last week in Victoria—especially under the halos of the gymnastics arena at the 29th Commonwealth Games. After promising performances at the 1992 Olympics and other top competitions, the years of training finally came together for Flintoff in a dazzling post-midnight performance on the vault and a silver on the uneven bars. She also won gold in the women's individual all-around competition and captured Canada's moment in a team gymnastics silver—making her Canada's biggest winner at the Games. For the *Flintoff*, approach Flintoff, it was a glowing finale to her career she announced her intention to retire after last week's competition and is now headed to the University of California in Los Angeles to study communications. "I want to be a sports coach," she explained, adding, "I think I've pushed my career further on a little bit with Commonwealth gold."

For the hundreds of winners showered in gold, silver and bronze over 10 days of Commonwealth Games that ended on Aug. 28, winning wasn't different things to different people. England's Daniel Christie appeared almost affixed to be sprayed to the gold medal in the 300 m as a Commonwealth record time of 9:51 seconds. There was nothing even remotely casual, though, about the elated winner who followed Christie across the line and then literally rolled on the ground with excitement. Hence Dave-Edwards was the first to hear, from his major partners, for his tiny, long-overlooked west African country of Sierra Leone and its 5.3 million people. Declared the 27-year-old sprinter: "This medal is for them."

Among Canadians, runner Angela Chalmers delivered the goods before an ex-



Chalmers, scoring a four medals and a first female to her career

static home-town crowd, winning the 3,000 m race in 8:52.17, showing six seconds off her own Commonwealth Games record. Toronto doublet Michael Smith won his second gold in as many Commonwealth Games, vaulting off two years of injury-plagued doldrums. "I came in here ranked No. 1 in the Commonwealth," he said. "I wanted to go out of here No. 1." Overall, Canada emerged from the Games as No. 2 in the medal tally, trailing Australia, whose athletes virtually ruled the Commonwealth pool, winning 25 swimming golds.

Such comparisons, however, seemed at odds with the relaxed atmosphere that pervaded last week in Victoria. Certainly, the crowds of up to 35,000 people who thronged into the closed-off, downtown streets

for free nightly concerts and fireworks were anything but cheery, cheering for all the medalists who were introduced from a stage on the B.C. legislature lawn. An appearance by Chalmers and fellow-Victorian *Allyson* Muehlen, who took the 3,000m silver, prompted a brief, left, unacknowledged rendition of O Canada. But, in a gesture in keeping with the Games' official friendly spirit, the nightly throng saved its warmest ovation for the outstanding Dave-Edwards.

The Games themselves did have their critics. Controversy struck the housing site in the second week, when several African coaches accused white judges of racism in their decisions. Some people carp about the steep price of tickets to the most popular events (up to \$125 for seats at the opening and closing ceremonies) or the slow delivery of competition results on the Games' own designed computer system. B.C. taxpayers, meanwhile, will have to wait until the end of the year to receive a full accounting of the \$100 million—including federal, provincial and corporate contributions—spent to mount the Games.

Whether such massive undertakings are worth the public expense at any time is a subject bound to provoke debate. One answer to the question, however, could be glimpsed in the number of representatives from other cities who came to Victoria to take notes for their own plans to host similar games. Among them were officials from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, site of the next Commonwealth Games in 1998. The Pan American Games in 1999 and Quebec City, which wants to host the Winter Olympics in 2002. South Africa's Makhosho George, president of that country's Commonwealth Games Association, meanwhile, told reporters that "if we do not bid for [the Commonwealth Games] for 2006, we will bid for 2006."

Canada's choice, meanwhile, did not gesture her own decision to dedicate her adolescence to fighting excellence. "I've become more of a whole person," she said. "I've learned independence, motivation. I've gotten to travel all over the world." As athletes from around the globe headed home after closing ceremonies, they could take with them stories of achievement and fellowship that promised to endure long after the last anthem was played and the last fireworks had soared out over Victoria Harbour.

CHUCK WOOD in Victoria

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MACLEAN'S CONGRATULATES

**JIM BONNYMAN**

THE NOVA SCOTIA AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION 1994  
MACLEAN'S DEALER OF EXCELLENCE AWARD WINNER

Jim Bonnyman is the president of Bonnyman Pontiac Buick Ltd. in New Minas, Nova Scotia. His career in the automobile industry began in 1974 at Scots Chevy Olds in Halifax, N.S. For 12 years Jim was a Buick of Nova Scotia manager at various branches throughout Nova Scotia. While at the bank, one of his clients—the president of Scots Chevy Olds—was instrumental in turning Jim on to the automobile industry, appointing him as sales manager.

In 1978, Jim founded his own dealership which currently has 20 dedicated employees, all who, in his own words, "Treat the customers like family."

Bonnyman Pontiac Buick Ltd. is a part of the Annapolis Valley Automobile Dealers Association and Jim has been a FADA member for 16 years. He has also been a past FADA president as well as a past president of his provincial association. His dealership is also part of Performance Inc. sponsored.

Jim is also active in his community as a member of the Rotary Club of Kentville, the Maritime Lodge and the local Board of Trade.

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# Eve of destruction?

A special explores the dangers of global consumerism

## THE HUMAN RACE

RBC, Sept. 6-11, 8-11, 8-11, 9 p.m.

One war is the Berlin Wall, the Soviet juggernaut, the specter of imminent nuclear annihilation. Even Communist China is experimenting with frequentist reforms. The stage of apocalyptic has evaporated in South Africa, and peace may be breaking out in the Middle East. For globe-trotting historian, military analyst and London-based Christian journalist Guyanese Dyer, these unexpected developments have profound implications. "I had, I guess, the standard set of assumptions about how things work that stood me in good stead throughout two decades of writing about international affairs—and then they fell apart," he recently told *Maraviva*'s.

"What had a tremendous impact on me from about 1987 on was that there were huge areas of the world, and increasing areas of the world, where change was actually occurring, dramatic change, against what I had assumed to be the current, in some just ways or relatively considered ways."

So Dyer, best known for his critically acclaimed seven-part 1993 HBO documentary *War*, began to rethink some of his earlier assumptions, including, as he acknowledges, the notions "that change is usually modest and often for the worse, that most things end in tears, that the world is going to hell in a handbasket." And what has emerged is an ambitious and thought-provoking four-hour documentary called *The Human Race*. The program's primary thesis, what are often taken as its expressions of human destiny are, in fact, razor conversations that, at a crucial turning point in the history of civilization, must be left behind to ensure our survival as a species. "While democracy isn't eternal and neither is equality of the sexes—all depends," Dyer claims in *The Human Race*. "Since gives for whether we are worthy of personal, democratic or authoritarian. Change the way we live and you may also change the way we behave towards each other."

In the headlong rush towards the 21st cen-

tury, change is occurring at an unprecedented rate. Take India, a country of 890 million, where Dyer believes the growing rates of consumption. Per capita income has increased by a third in a single decade. On one plot through squalid streets carrying newly purchased television sets while the adjacent slum through rubbish in the shadow of advertising billboards bearing such slogans as "Time to think of a second color TV? Think big."



**Mexicans demonstrating against poverty:** Dyer (below) "there's a huge shift in wealth and power under way in the world right now."

Such startling images underscore the ironies of modernization. But Dyer goes further to illustrate an unstoppable trend: the emergence of a global consumer society. "It is the Third World's turn," he says in the documentary, arguing that it is not (and unreasonable) for the First World to try to contain development. "It's not the eternal dream of Indians to be poor, just as there's no natural law saying that people in the North will always be richer. In fact, there's a huge shift in wealth and power under way in the world right now."

Within 50 years, Dyer predicts, there will

be about 13 billion consumers on the planet, posing grave environmental dangers. In Mexico City, by far the world's most polluted metropolis, there are now three million cars—and the number is expected to double by the year 2000. "You cannot really blame the Mexicans," Dyer states. "About one-fifth of the world's people now have their own cars, TVs, fridges and microwaves. And collectively, these billion First World people account for four-fifths of the consumption in the world. But now, the rest of the human race is chasing the same goals—and a lot of them are going to make it."

Dyer argues that the consumerism we adore, especially the spread of television, is speeding the process enormously. "People all over the Third World can see through our windows nowadays, thanks to the modern mass media," he says. "They know how we live and what we have—and they want it, too." He adds: "The same technology that's given us mass consumption has also given us mass production, mass consumption, weapons of mass destruction, the ability to wreck our entire planet. We're in a race—and unless we take the first step, we could lose everything." The double meaning of the document's title is suddenly becoming apparent.

Just what is that final step? Unless the industrialized world makes some drastic changes, Dyer predicts, civilization is doomed. "We are all going to have to share the sacrifices," he warns, adding that global rules are going to have to be set, and the West, which has pioneered modernization, is going to have to adjust to having less. What is needed, he argues, is an increased awareness of the planet as a global village. And while the mass media and consumption on the one hand, he believes that they may actually hold the key to humanity's survival. "We can see everything else in the world now and they can see us," he says. "Eventually, it's better as all back into villages. Which is just as well—because our cities are dying."

While ultimately cautious, Dyer arrives at an optimistic conclusion: "No promises," he states, "but maybe, just maybe, the world is changing fast enough to have a chance." Whether his words prove prophetic remains to be seen. Still, *The Human Race* is a wake-up call for a planet that cannot afford to sleepwalk into the next century.

SCOTT KERRICK

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## FILMS

### Man versus woman

*Two lovers become embroiled in a classic dispute*

#### THE DARLING FAMILY

Directed by Alan Zweig

Aside all the violence and mayhem of summer movies, watching *The Darling Family* is like entering an intimate domain. It is a small Canadian film with just two named characters, a man and a woman, who do nothing but talk to each other, and to themselves, about their relationship. That is it. No guns, no violence, no vehicles, just well-to-do talk—about how to handle an unpleasant pregnancy. It is an intimate, funny, serious, with the audience playing the silent therapist. As an occasion into relationship hell, the film has no emotional veracity and psychological insight. But the quiet, deadlocked drama demands a lot of patience from the viewer. It is a like one of these exhorting life-coach discussions in bed that are destined to go nowhere.

Toronto-based actor-writer Linda Griffiths,



Griffiths (left), Griffiths, relationship hell

best known for her 1980 one-woman show, *Maggie and Pierre*, starred *The Darling Family* from her 1981 play. She reprises her stage co-star, Alan Williams, and both deliver strong performances. Starkly directed by Alan Zweig, the movie unfolds as a series of

dialogues riddled with internal monologues. Often, the characters break out of their role-orientation and start talking out loud—a theatrical conceit that seems surprising on film.

The two characters are engaged in a classic male-female conflict. She is yearning to have the baby; he worries about taking his independence. The tension at abortion hangs over their discussion, although the debate is not poisoned along the lines of pro-choice versus pro-life, rather than making moral judgments about abortion, the film explores just what a

complex and difficult choice it is.

And the couple's conflict illuminates the broader issue of male-female relationships. She is, in essence, a barometer of rage, grief and loathing at crystals. He is practical, a middle-aged slacker afflicted by heavy-muscle mania. Neither has learned to be selfless—hence the reference to the *Darling Family* of Peter Pan. But she is the one who leads the growing-up process, provoking their discussions and attempting to get beneath the surface of things. He, meanwhile, keeps insisting that there is nothing there. As an analogy of our times, *The Darling Family* rings true. But the film, like the relationship, guards itself into an impossible corner, and the movie's flat resolution leaves the viewer as dissatisfied as the protagonists.

BRIAN D. JENSEN

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# Gazing across a great divide

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Communication, communication. It destroys nations and can destroy countries. That would be lack of communication of course. Ask any marriage counsellor.

The battle for Quebec as a part of Canada runs along the same lines. The separatist leaders claim that the rest of Canada doesn't understand the Québécois, didn't understand the importance of March 17th, won't understand what a "divided society" means.

This is probably true, but the ignorance runs both ways. The *Globe* and *Mail*, for the Quebec election campaign, offered a weekly column to Pierre Bozupski, the longtime separatist commentator. The idea was to give him a chance to contribute a calm explanation of the separatist logic.

He started off well—and calmly—with well-written exposures of the Parti Québécois. He then wrote a column on Jacques Parizeau, saying he was greatly misinterpreted by those outside Quebec, that in fact along with being highly intelligent and a man of conviction he exhibited great compassion. He finished by writing: "I assure this is probably why you hate us both."

"You" of course means everyone who reads *The Globe* and *Mail*. It is very telling, however, that you know there is no hope for understanding in this strange, confused and fractured country.

Pierre Bozupski is now a professor in Montreal. He was the original separatist politician of our modern era, starting his own party before it was absorbed into René Lévesque's mainstream Parti Québécois that eventually achieved power but failed at independence.

When this article used to appear more often in Quebec, it debated with him on politics and television. Bozupski, with his amazing ability to cynicism, as eloquent as he was patient. He. Afterwards, we could compare the viewpoints over a glass or two. He was generous, generous and always generous of his time. If that isn't how you think we hate him, there's little hope for human communication.

Bozupski used to be a prominent hostler



in Montreal. He was everywhere and eventually became co-chairman of Lévesque's gradual approach to the idea of real separation. The latter's "sovereignty-association" idea has been described—accurately—as divorce with bad privileges. Parizeau resigned from Lévesque's PQ for the same reason—it wasn't going fast enough—and returned only when he could become leader to act it back on his desired path.

"Hate" is a terrible word because it is a self-destructive word. Anyone who hates consumes so much energy in the process that it is no room left over for understanding or contemplation. Anger is one thing. Hate is another, to be widely avoided.

As smart as our *Globe* reader pointed out, they do not hate Parizeau or Bozupski. They simply hate what they are trying to do to the country.

There is something revealing and very

self-serving in the Bozupski comment. It is the self-chained belief of the separatist intellectuals that the world revolves around them. In the comment is the assumption that Bozupski himself, who has not been prominent in recent years—unlike the esteemed Jacques Parizeau—is so well-known in Quebec, Montserrat and Halifax that people have time to sit around and hate him.

He knows the country, he used to travel it when he presented his books and explained the separatist gospel from Vancouver to Toronto, and yet he doesn't understand it in 1994. He thinks hate fuels the debate.

One of the reasons he doesn't understand Canada is that the Quebec intellectuals who control their quality newspapers and magazines never try to explain the Canadian world outside Quebec. Since the Quiet Revolution has started to stir, the major Canadian newspapers set up bureaus there (in an attempt to explain Quebec to the other provinces). This magazine has long had a staff there and publishes a French-language sister magazine.

Quebec papers do not sit on their reporters in Western Canada, not even in Toronto, waiting so far from their Ot town—or Quebec—where somebody stamps on a flag and gives them a TV trouble.

The disciples of the early heralded Bozupski don't seem to venture so far into Canada for fear of what they might find. And Pierre, now seated into the severity of a professor's chair, dispassionately consumes like "hate." Not the enlightenment one might usually expect from academics, to be charitable.

Parizeau's campaign associate was well understood enough in his election, sustained by voters from Chicoutimi who, one hour people in Montserrat. He will win the things around Dion-Ravens with votes from Canadian citizens who, one can assume, have nothing personal against the residents of Montserrat.

That is reflected in all the polls that show the Québécois ready to thrive as a third, once-year-old government but quite skeptical of the idea of becoming an independent state.

We will be arguing the question, one knows with resignation, two decades from now while professors contribute learned thoughts to the *Globe*.

The intellectuals as the bastion of Montreal and the common room of the universities, Pierre Bozupski their resident priest, have their own peculiar view of this country. That's their privilege, but they don't understand it.

This peculiar country, in its own difficult way, in fact loves Quebec. That's why it doesn't want it to go.

There is no law that says you

can't make love at 4 in the afternoon on a Tuesday

shall not study a sunset or train butterflies must pay tax on itemized moments of pleasure

may not have extra mushrooms with your steak can't disembark in Tortola and stay there

must pack worry along with your luggage can't learn about life from a turtle

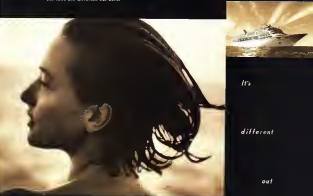
must contribute to the GNP every single solitary day of your life

absolutely must act your chronological age and your shoe size shall maintain strict economies of emotion

can't make love again at 5 in the afternoon on the Tuesday we spoke of earlier

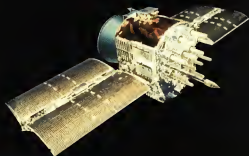
because the laws of the land do not apply

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